565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, [582] generally of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were [643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they 461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three
651 young goats.

The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren,
554 are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ádrar des Ifóras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ahnet and Tamasna.

This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The
233 Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

162 In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

651 /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they main-
669 tained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ádrar des Ifóras held them in suspicion for a long time.

28 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are
462 quite expert in leatherwork.

There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have
600 no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

1: Lhote--60 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tobol of the Taitok

631 The Taitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tegehé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Air where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–90 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amǧar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

[184] [601] 602

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

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423

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ihenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagrioual and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DRINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

000
565
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clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loalen, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given. [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal [114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic unit of closely related stock-owners.

422 *233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 585 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

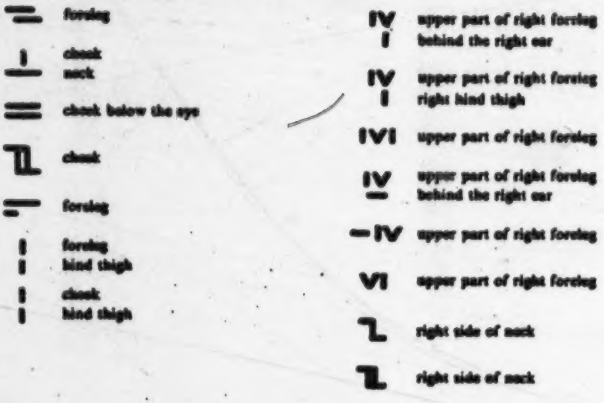

Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ferè* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Ajjak-en-tehli* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temassert*. The brands ⅂ & ⅃ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikkn-en-awuit* tribe where the principal brand is ⅂ called *amaiag*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkit n ayaig*, that is "the raven's foot".

Dag Rali tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imezsiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehanḍezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class. The word "*Iseḳḳemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Iseḳḳemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Iseḳḳemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Iseḳḳemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Iseḳḳemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Iseḳḳemaren* visiting the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aġuh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Iseḳḳemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hoda, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aġuh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Iseḳḳemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḳ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ḍela* drum-group.

The Kel Ḍela drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ḍela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ḍela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ẽhéri-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ḍela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agub-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ḍela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaḳ*) taken by

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

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605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehanḍezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillawt*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loosing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr.

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law.

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Ifoɣas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Aḍraṛ of the Ifoɣas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife.

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen.

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

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634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwillemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwillemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekḳemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireǧenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebǧan* (sing. *ahbeǧ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*ẖakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *eseber*) plaited from the *afeẓu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerǧan*, sing. *aṛreǧ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaǧa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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5 wooden eating bowls (*tiṛha*, sing. *taṛehut*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téṛirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukalt*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éṛir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefeṛ*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50×5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihédan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

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The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ṛali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp.

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ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

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(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

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(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased

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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

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The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:—

1 mat tent (*éhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*téḍabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*tsebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

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It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

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When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

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Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

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Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

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582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin – ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French